

## Message Text

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INFO CINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONTEVIDEO 2446

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, UY

SUBJ: POLITICAL GROUPS BEGIN TO DEFINE THEIR POSITIONS

CINCSO FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: THE PASSAGE OF ALMOST SEVEN MONTHS SINCE THE "SOFT GOLPE" OF FEBRUARY AND ALMOST ONE AND ONE-HALF MONTHS SINCE THE CLOSING OF CONGRESS HAS GIVEN PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS TIME TO TAKE STOCK AND TO DEFINE THEIR POSITIONS AT A TIME WHEN THEIR PRESTIGE GENERALLY AND INDIVIDUALLY IS AT AN ALL TIME LOW. THREE DISCERNIBLE POSTURES HAVE EVOLVED AMONG THE POLITICIANS; ONE OF RELUCTANT SUPPORT FOR THE BORDABERRY ADMINISTRATION, ONE OF MODERATE ALMOST PASSIVE OPPOSITION AND ONE OF OPEN ACTIVE, BUT TO DATE, NON-VIOLENT, OPPOSITION. ALTHOUGH THE OPPOSITION IS DIRECTED AGAINST PRESIDENT BORDABERRY, IT STILL LACKS COHESION. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PRESIDENT, WITH SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY AND PROBABLY A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC, HAS TIME IN WHICH TO BRING ABOUT THE DESIRED CHANGES. HOWEVER, CHANGE MUST COME OR HIS DAYS MAY BE NUMBERED. END SUMMARY

2. THE RELUCTANT SUPPORTERS: BASICALLY, THOSE RELUCTANTLY SUPPORTING THE ADMINISTRATION ARE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL REELECTION UNION (UNR) FACTION OF THE GOVERNING COLORADO PARTY, CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDING, INTER ALIA, EX-SENATORS CAPUTI, RATH, MONTANER AND SINGER. THEY ARE RELUCTANT IN THAT THEY OPPOSE THE EXECUTIVE/ MILITARY'S IGNORING THEIR REQUIREMENTS FOR POLITICAL PATRONAGE, THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT MOVES BUT THEY

BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY HOPE FOR THE NATION IS TO HELP BORDABERRY IN HIS EFFORTS TO CORRECT OLD ERRORS IN ORDER TO ENSURE ELECTIONS IN 1976. THEY ARE FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF THEIR MENTOR, FORMER PRESIDENT JORGE PACHECO, AND PINNING THEIR FUTURES ON ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD BRING HIM BACK TO POWER. THE UNR APPEARS TO BE HELD TOGETHER MORE BY A COMMON DESIRE FOR PATRONAGE AND INFLUENCE THAN A STRONG IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY. AS INDIVIDUALS THEY HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE BUT AS A GROUP REPRESENTING PACHECO THEY ARE A FACTOR THAT CANNOT BE DISCOUNTED.

3. ALSO AMONG THE RELUCTANT SUPPORTERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION ARE BLANCO "ACUERDISTAS" ALEJANDRO ZORILLA DE SAN MARTIN, MARTIN ECHEGOYEN AND ALBERTO HEBER.

4. THE MODERATE OPPOSITION: A NEW ALIGNMENT, THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, ALSO CALLED BY SOME THE DEMOCRATIC CIVIC FRONT, HAS DEVELOPED AMONG A LARGE GROUP OF MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD, MODERATE POLITICIANS. DR. JULIO MARIA SANGUINETTI AND COLLEAGUES IN THE LIST 15 (JORGE BATLLE) FACTION OF THE COLORADO PARTY, THE COLORADOS IN THE "EL DIA" LIST 14 FACTION, AMILCAR VASCONCELLOS' LIST 315 OF THE COLORADO PARTY AND BLANCO GROUPS INCLUDING THOSE OF WASHINGTON BELTRAN (NATIONAL BLANCO UNION), THE MARIO HEBER SEGMENT OF THE HERRERA-HEBER FACTION AND ELEMENTS OF THE ROCHA FACTION ARE PARTICIPATING. SO TOO IS SENATOR DARDO ORTIZ OF THE FERREIRA FACTION. THEIR DESIRE IS TO REMAIN IN THE PUBLIC EYE TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY, GIVEN EXISTING LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL MEETINGS AND PUBLICATIONS. THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE TWOFOLD. FIRST, THEY WANT TO ESTABLISH A MODERATE OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT, MODERATE BECAUSE THEY ARE PATRIOTIC URUGUAYANS WHO DO NOT WANT THE NATION TO FAIL IN ANY EFFORT TO CORRECT OLD ERRORS, BUT NEVERTHELESS AN OPPOSITION BECAUSE THEY DO NOT LIKE THE EXTRA CONSTITUTIONAL TREND OF THE ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS MILITARY RULE. SECONDLY, THEY BELIEVE THAT SOMEDAY A MAN "LIKE LANUSSE" WILL DECIDE SUDDENLY TO TURN THE GOVERNMENT OVER TO THE CIVILIANS AND THEY WANT A VIABLE MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD ORGANIZATION READY TO OFFER AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO EXTREMES OF RIGHT AND LEFT. AS SANGUINETTI PUT IT, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES  
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WHICH REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF URUGUAYAN PEOPLE CANNOT REMAIN QUIESCENT AND INACTIVE, OR THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES IN THE FUTURE WOULD BE EXTREMISTS AT OPPOSITE POLES. VICE PRESIDENT SAPELLI'S LATEST EXCHANGE WITH THE PRESIDENT (SEE MVD 2362 AND 2385) SUGGESTS THAT HE, TOO, HAS JOINED THE MODERATE OPPOSITON GROUP, IN OUTLOOK IF NOT IN ACTION.

5. THE OPEN OPPOSITION: IN OPEN, BUT AS YET NON-VIOLENT, OPPOSITION TO THE BORDABERRY GOVERNMENT ARE THE WILSON FERREIRA FACTION OF THE BLANCO PARTY AND THE LEFTIST "FRENTE AMPLIO". NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE GREAT DIVERGENCIES AMONG THOSE IN OPEN OPPOSITION. IN FACT, THESE DIVERGENCIES APPEAR EVEN WITHIN THE FERREIRA GROUP ITSELF. WILSON FERREIRA, THE NATION'S

LEADING VOTE-GETTER AMONG PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN THE 1971 ELECTIONS, HAS TAKEN AN EXTREMELY HARD LINE AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION. FROM HIS SELF-IMPOSED EXILE IN BUENOS AIRES, FERREIRA HAS MADE STATEMENTS VARYING FROM MODERATE TO SUGGESTING IT WAS TIME TO TAKE TO THE STREETS. HIS COMMENTS HAVE INCLUDED ALSO CRITICISM OF THE "FRENTE AMPLIO" WITH WHICH SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS ARE COOPERATING. WHETHER TO WALK HAND IN HAND WITH THE "FRENTE AMPLIO" IS CAUSING CONSIDERABLE DEBATE AMONG FERREIRA'S FOLLOWERS. IT IS NOTABLE THAT ONE OF FERREIRA'S CLOSEST AND MOST RESPECTED COLLABORATORS, SEN DARDO ORTIZ HAS APPARENTLY JOINED THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT. HIS ATTITUDE (AND THAT OF MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS) SEEMS TO BE ONE OF LETTING THE GROUPS IN THE "FRENTE" COME TO HIM IF THEY WANT TO COOPERATE IN A COMMON CAUSE. SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS, AND POSSIBLY FERREIRA HIMSELF, ASPIRE TO THE EVENTUAL FORMATION OF A FREJULI TYPE FEDERATION OF CENTER AND LEFTIST GROUPS AND, FOR THE MOMENT, THERE IS COLLABORATION AT MANY LEVELS BECAUSE, AS SOME HAVE PUT IT, THEY ALL ARE THROWING STONES AT THE SAME PEOPLE.

6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS TAKEN A RELATIVELY MODERATE, NON-VIOLENT POSITION WHILE THE RADICAL LEFT IN THE "FRENTE" IS AGITATING ACTIVELY AMONG STUDENTS AND LABOR GROUPS, PROBABLY WITH AN EYE TOWARDS PROVOKING CONFRONTATIONS WHEN THE TIMING IS PROPITIOUS.

7. THE FOREGOING IS PAINTED WITH A BROAD BRUSH AS NO PARTY  
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AND FEW FACTIONS ARE COMPLETELY UNITED IN THEIR RESPONSE TO EVENTS. IN FACT, SOME SIGNIFICANT REALIGNMENTS COULD GROW OUT OF THE SITUATION. DIFFERENCES AMONG FACTIONS WITH HISTORIC AND IDEOLOGICAL TIES (COLORADO LISTS 14, 15 AND 315) ARE BEING SUBMERGED IN THE FACE OF A COMMON THREAT. ALSO, TO A LESSER EXTENT, COMMON GRIEVANCES HAVE BROKEN DOWN SOME OF THE RESISTANCE OF THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES TOWARDS THE NON-TRADITIONAL SECTION OF THE LEFT. ON THE OTHER HAND, ANIMOSITIES AMONG THE POLITICIANS ARE STILL HIGH. THE UNR BLAMES THE 15 AND 315 FOR PROVOKING THE MILITARY; VASCONCELLOS BLAMES FERREIRA FOR THE SAME WHILE FERREIRA FEARS A PCU UNDERSTANDING WITH THE MILITARY AT THE EXPENSE OF HIS OWN AMBITIONS.

8. THE PRESIDENT REMAINS IN THE CENTER OF THE PICTURE. MILITARY SUPPORT AND THE LACK OF A UNIFIED, COHERENT POLITICAL OPPOSITION GIVE HIM BREATHING SPACE. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE URUGUAYAN PUBLIC IS DISENCHANGED WITH POLITICIANS AND BORDABERRY'S OPPONENTS INFLUENCE HAS NEVER BEEN LOWER. NEVERTHELESS, BORDABERRY IS NOT A MAN WITH UNLIMITED REIN. THE PUBLIC AND THE MILITARY EXPECT HIM TO GET THE COUNTRY MOVING AGAIN AND THE OPPOSITION OF THE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS IS DIRECTED AGAINST HIM, NOT THE MILITARY.

HE MUST PRODUCE RESULTS OR HIS PRESIDENTIAL DAYS MAY BE NUMBERED.

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